

TRIUMPHANT PLUTOCRACY

The Story of
American Public Life
from 1870 to 1920

By
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Formerly United States Senator
from South Dakota



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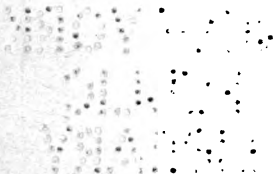
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XV. TEN PRESIDENTS

I have been personally acquainted with every president of the United States from Andrew Johnson to Woodrow Wilson. With some of them my acquaintance was very slight. Others I knew intimately for many years. I saw enough of all of them to form a pretty definite idea of their qualities.

These ten presidents were not brainy men. They were not men of robust character. They were pliable men, safe men, conservative men. Many of them were usable men, who served faithfully the business interests that stood behind them. All but two of them were lawyers, and they took into the presidency the peculiar limitations under which lawyers suffer.

I met Grant first in his first term—in the winter of 1871-1872—and our acquaintance lasted as long as he lived. Grant was a soldier—not a president—but he filled the office as acceptably as a general could be expected to do.

Among the ten presidents, I am of the opinion that William H. Harrison was pre-eminent in ability and character. He was elected in 1888, beating Cleveland, who was then a candidate for a second term. Although Harrison was a strong man, he was not a leader. He misjudged the political machinery of the Republican party and had a reputation of being the most ungrateful person that ever occupied the White House. At the outset he proclaimed his opposition to bosses and to machine control in the Republican party. As soon as he was elected president, he began to build up a machine of his own, using his patronage as a bait and a whip, and disregarding the leaders and bosses entirely.

Soon after I came to the Senate, in December, 1889, I went to see the President about some of the appointments in the State of South Dakota, which had just been admitted into the Union. The Presi-

dent immediately gave me to understand that he thought I was the political boss of Dakota and that he would have to look into the recommendations which I made. I do not think he ever appointed anyone to any political position because of my endorsement. I am informed that he treated the leaders in the other states in the same manner.

Any sort of president, Republican or Democrat, can renominate himself for a second term. The power that he holds through his patronage and his veto enables him to appeal to the personal interest of a large number of influential men and thus to compel their support.

The Republican leaders were strongly opposed to Harrison and to his re-election. Quay and Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Farwell, of Chicago, Tom Platt, of New York, and a large number of others held conference after conference with a view to choosing his successor. They knew the power of the machine that the President had built up and knew it was difficult to accomplish their purpose, but, after much consideration, they finally decided, at a meeting which I attended, to persuade Blaine to be a candidate.

It had been the ambition of Blaine's life to be president, and we had hoped to get him into the field as the only person who could beat Harrison. He was at that time a member of Harrison's Cabinet and Secretary of State. I was delegated to see Blaine and to report on his attitude. I went to Blaine's house on McPherson Square, in front of the White House, and had several conversations with him. In every instance he said that he would accept the nomination but that he would not seek it, nor would he be a candidate. At the last interview, just before we went to Minneapolis for the National Convention, he told me that, in his opinion, if he were nominated he would not live through the campaign, be-

cause of the bad state of his health. Therefore, he was resolved to do nothing to aid in securing his nomination.

When we arrived at the convention we found everything cut and dried for Harrison's renomination, and he was nominated almost immediately. After the nomination had been made, a committee of his followers came to us—by "us" I mean the political managers of the Republican Party in the various states of that date—and wanted us to name the vice-president. We replied that we would do nothing of the kind. It was their ticket, nominated without even consulting us, and it was their job to elect it.

Levi P. Morton was Vice-President and President of the Senate during Harrison's first term. He was a capable and cordial gentleman of whom we were all very fond, and we supposed, of course, that he would be nominated by Harrison's crowd, but he was passed over and WHITE LAW REID was nominated in his place.

There was a great deal of discussion over the matter and reporters tried to interview us on the outcome of the convention. We all refused to be interviewed but one reporter did get into Quay's room, and asked him what he thought of the ticket put up at Minneapolis. Quay gazed out of the window, and in his quaint way said, "It looks as though it might snow!"

I returned to Washington before any of the other senators and the moment I went upon the floor of the Senate, Morton, who was in the chair, came over to where I was sitting and, in a very hurt tone of voice, wanted to know why he was not nominated with Harrison. I told him the facts—that Harrison's followers had sent a delegation to us asking us to name the vice-president; that we told them it was their ticket; and that they would have to elect it

and, therefore, they should designate Harrison's running mate. I added, "We supposed of course that they would nominate you, but we also believe that Harrison will be defeated and, therefore, we did not wish to participate in the nomination."

Harrison selected, for the important post of Chairman of the Republican National Committee, Senator Carter, of Montana. Tom Carter was a bright man. He was a lawyer of considerable ability and had a wide knowledge of the law, but he was ignorant of the methods employed by the Republican Party machine to win a campaign.

Carter did not know how to go about reaching the bankers, the railroad financiers, the trust magnates and the other exploiters who controlled the surplus of American wealth. He did secure a contribution of \$400,000 from Cramp, the shipbuilder, by telling Cramp that if he put up \$400,000 it would, beyond a doubt, elect Harrison. He also told Cramp where the money would be laid out in order to secure this result, and assured him that he would see that Cramp got the money back out of building ships for the Government as soon as Harrison took office.

Campaign funds were not usually raised in this rough fashion. Instead, the campaign managers went to the real government, the managers of railroads, the great industrial, financial and transportation interests, and secured their contribution without any direct promise as to the method of using the funds, leaving that to come along as a matter of course in case of success.

Had the Republican managers been in control of the campaign, none of these sources would have been neglected. As it was, while Tom Carter's crowd was fooling around, these sources of funds were pre-empted by Grover Cleveland, who was the Democratic candidate against Harrison. As a result of this mis-

management, Harrison was badly beaten at the polls and Grover Cleveland was elected in his place.

Never do I hope to deal with a more difficult human being than Grover Cleveland. His naturally perverse disposition was supplemented by personal habits that made it next to impossible for anyone to work with him.

In the Senate of the United States, on June 3, 1896, I made a speech on the River and Harbor Bill that was then under consideration. Cleveland had vetoed the bill, and while I was opposed to it I felt bound to vote for its passage over the veto, because I believed that the President had violated his oath of office by vetoing the bill. I believe that the veto power was never intended by the Constitution or its framers to be used as a legislating instrument. In that speech I referred to Grover Cleveland as follows:

“The present occupant of the White House is not content with the violation of the Constitution by the exercise of the veto power alone, but with an utter disregard of his sacred oath of office, as well as the Constitution, he overrides the laws, influences congressmen with patronage, enriches his favorites at the public expense—in fact, permits no restraint but his imperial will. I think he might fairly be charged with high crimes and misdemeanors. He has exercised the veto power in direct violation of the Constitution. He has appointed men to office without the advice and consent of the Senate. He has defied the Senate and the Constitution alike by appointing men to official positions after the Senate has twice refused its consent, and still retains them in office.

“During his first term he openly used his appointing power to intimidate members of Congress, and during his second term he had given appointments to members of Congress for the purpose of securing their votes upon measures pending in the two Houses.

“On his own motion he has undertaken to overthrow the Hawaiian Government, doing acts in direct violation of the Constitution. He has borrowed money in violation of the law for ordinary expenses of the Government, and then falsified the facts in relation thereto in a message to Congress. He has refused to remit taxes as required by law, and has collected taxes unlawfully. He has refused to enforce the laws of Congress so often that the list of violations is next only to the list of his vetoes. He has sold bonds at private sale to his favorites and former associates upon terms and at a price many millions of dollars below the market price of the bonds on the day of such private sales. In view of these facts it is time for Congress to give some attention to these usurpations. If this Government is to survive, we can no longer look with indifference upon the shameful autocracy of Grover Cleveland.”

In this connection, I referred to his veto record as unparalleled in our history, and showed that he had vetoed up to the first of May, 1896, 551 bills in his two terms as President, while all the other Presidents of the United States together had vetoed but 109 bills passed by Congress.

Cleveland was reputed to have certain rugged virtues. The only one that I remember his friends boasting about was that he should do as he agreed. He continued his career as a vetoer until the end of his term, or, rather, until the end of January, 1897. During February he was reported to be so drunk that he was incapacitated from public business. A prominent Democratic member of Congress told me, at that time, that he went to the White House to see the President and found Cleveland lying on the floor in a rather hilarious state of intoxication. Many other stories of a similar character—many of them worse—came to our ears during the last days of this disgraceful administration.

Most of the great appropriation bills are passed during the closing days of Congress. An act of Congress, having been sent to the President, must be vetoed by him within ten days, otherwise it becomes a law without his signature if Congress is in session. If Congress expires during the ten days, the unsigned bill is not a law, and this is called a pocket veto. Cleveland thus vetoed all of the bills which were sent to him during the last ten days of Congress. Thus he made it necessary for his successor, McKinley, to call an extra session of Congress immediately, in order to pass the appropriation bills and thus secure sufficient funds for the running of the Government.

On the 4th of March, Grover Cleveland came to the Senate, as is the custom, to see his successor inaugurated. My seat was the first seat on the main aisle. Grover Cleveland was brought in by two or three men and placed in a chair right across the aisle from me. He was still stupidly intoxicated, his face was bloated, and he was a sight to behold. He did not seem to know what was occurring, but looked like a great lump of discolored flesh. When McKinley had delivered his address and had taken his oath of office, Cleveland was carried out of the Senate by the men who brought him in, and I understand was loaded into a carriage and taken to the wharf in Washington and there loaded on a yacht—and I think it was Benedict's yacht (he was a very wealthy man, a citizen of New York, and was one of the chief factors in running Cleveland's administration in the interests of big business). The yacht sailed down the Potomac with Cleveland for a few weeks so that he could wind up his spree.

I have not written about Grover Cleveland for the purpose of attacking him or his private life, or from any feeling of personal animosity or ill-will, but because these things are a part, and a vital part, of his public and official life as President of the United States, and account for his erratic conduct as chief executive of this great nation, and no accurate history of his ca-

reer as President can be written and fail to consider the two Clevelands—drunk and sober. His ultimatum to England in the Venezuela affair; his conduct with regard to Hawaii, and his hundreds of vetoes and his bond sales, in violation of his oath, and of the Constitution, can in this way only be accounted for.

None of his successors approached Cleveland in personal uncleanness, but the political records of some of them were far from enviable.

I took my seat in the Senate in December, 1889. During that session of Congress the McKinley Tariff Bill was under discussion in the House of Representatives, and I think the only thing for which I was interested in having tariff protection was metallic tin cacitevite. I interviewed members of the House Committee, of which William McKinley was chairman, and asked that a certain duty be placed on metallic tin.

LaFollette, of Wisconsin (now Senator LaFollette), was a member of this committee. I had known him from boyhood and we were good friends; consequently, he promised to attend to the matter of the tariff on tin for me. However, I saw nearly every member of the committee, including the chairman, Mr. McKinley, and I got from McKinley a definite promise that he would do all he could to secure the tariff I wanted on metallic tin.

Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, was a member of the committee from Pittsburgh, where they made tin plate. His clients wanted a very high tariff on tin plate but wanted the metallic tin to come in free of duty so that the manufacturers of the black plates might make an added profit. Dalzell told me that he was opposed to any tariff upon metallic tin, which made me still more active until I thought I had the promise of the majority of the committee to stand for a tariff on metallic tin.

When the matter came up for a vote in the committee (I think the whole committee was present),

the vote on the tin schedule was a tie. The chairman, McKinley, was compelled to cast the deciding vote, and he voted against the duty and against what he had specifically promised me. LaFollette immediately wrote down the names of the committee members who had voted for and against the tariff on tin and also the fact that McKinley had cast the deciding vote against me, and sent it by a page over to the Senate.

I went over to the House of Representatives and, as I went upon the floor of the House in the direction of McKinley's seat, I met McKinley in the aisle coming from the session of the tariff committee.

"McKinley," I said, "how are you getting along with the duty on metallic tin?"

He was very patronizing and conciliating. "Well, Senator," he said, "I do not believe we can get it through my committee."

"How in the devil do you expect to get it through your committee," I replied, "when you vote against it yourself?"

He shrank a little under my remark, then he rallied and said: "Well, I concluded that it was not best to put a duty on metallic tin."

"If you had told me that in the first place," I answered, "instead of lying to me about it, I would have some respect for you. That would have given me a chance to have worked a little harder and to find someone on the committee that would tell the truth."

The incident gave me an insight into McKinley's character and may possibly have had something to do, in addition to other things, with my walking out of the St. Louis Convention in 1896, after McKinley's nomination. I always had the impression that the course pursued by McKinley in the committee of the House was characteristic of the man, and I am still

of the opinion that as President he continued the same practices.

There is nothing that better illustrates President William McKinley than his agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, and his double dealing in connection with the same. I quote from the Congressional Record of January 21, 1900.

“Manilla special, July 12, 1899.

“General Bates, in the capacity of agent of the United States Government, sailed for Jolo this morning to negotiate with the Sultan of Jolo regarding the future relations of the Jolo (or Sulu) Archipeligo, including the Basilians, as a naval station. The Sultan assumes that the Jolos reverted to him, the evacuation of the Spaniards nullifying the treaty of 1878. General Bates will explain to the Sultan that the Americans succeeded the Spaniards in the treaty assuming its obligations and continuing the annuities it provides for. He will also present to the Sultan \$10,000 in Mexican money as an evidence of good will. The local administration of the Jolos will remain unchanged. The Sultan will enforce the law, and will also be expected to fly the American flag continuously and co-operate with America to maintain order and suppress piracy.

“General Bates then entered into the following agreement:

“‘Agreement between Brig. Gen. John C. Bates, representing the United States, of the one part, and His Highness, the Sultan of Sulu; it being understood that this agreement will be in full force only when confirmed by the President of the United States, and will be subject to future modifications by the mutual consent of the parties in interest.’

“I deem it proper to state that this agreement has been confirmed by the President of the United States in a letter transmitting the treaty to the Senate. How-

ever, this is a treaty apparently with a quasi sovereign power, over which the Senate, according to our new doctrine of imperialism, has no other authority and no control, and it requires no ratification by the Senate and no consideration on our part.

“‘Article 1. The sovereignty of the United States over the whole archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies is declared and acknowledged.

“‘Article 2. The United States flag will be used in the archipelago of Sulu and its dependencies on land and sea.

“‘Article 3. The rights and dignities of his highness the Sultan and his datos shall be fully respected; all their religious customs shall be respected, and no one shall be persecuted on account of his religion.

“‘Article 4. While the United States may occupy and control such points in the archipelago of Sulu as public interests seem to demand, encroachment will not be made upon the lands immediately about the residence of his highness the Sultan unless military necessity require such occupation in case of war with a foreign power, and where the property of individuals is taken, due compensation will be made in each case.

“‘Article 10. Any slave in the archipelago of Sulu shall have the right to purchase freedom by paying to the master the usual market value.

“‘Article 12. At present Americans or foreigners wishing to go into the country should state their wishes to the Moro authorities and ask for an escort, but it is hoped this will become unnecessary as we know each other better.

“‘Article 13. The United States will give full protection to the Sultan and his subjects

in case any foreign nation shall attempt to impose upon them.

“Article 14. The United States will not sell the island of Sulu or any other island of the Sulu Archipelago to any foreign nation without the consent of the Sultan of Sulu.

“Article 15. The United States Government will pay the following monthly salaries:

“To the Sultan, \$250; to Dato Muda, \$75; to Datto Attik, \$60; to Dato Calbe, \$75; to Dato Joakanain, \$75; to Dato Puyo, \$60; to Dato Amir Haissin, \$60; to Habji Buter, \$50; to Habib Mura, \$40; to Serif Saguin, \$15.

“Signed in triplicate, in English and Sulu, at Jolo, this 20th day of August, A. D., 1899 (13th Arakuil Akil 1317).

“The SULTAN SULU
Dato RAJAH HUDA
Dato ATTIK
Dato CALBE
Dato JOAKANAIN

“Signed: J. C. BATES,
Brigadier-General, U. S. V.’

“The annual aggregate of these salaries is \$9,120. The Spanish agreement was for \$6,300 a year. This agreement was one we offered to the Sultan, not one that he insisted upon. It is our own proposition that we are to maintain slavery in the Sulu Islands.

“Farther than that, Mr. President, an investigation would show that, although this agreement was made on the 20th day of August, it was not possible to secure from the State Department a copy of the agreement until after the election in Ohio.

“I say this agreement, when the Associated Press tried to get a copy of it before the Senate convened, was furnished in Arabic, and an Arabic used in the Sulu Islands. Therefore it was not possible to have

it translated in the United States, and we only got this copy which I have read after Congress convened and after the elections last fall were over. This is on a par and in line with the whole business of concealing from the American people the facts in regard to our maiden foreign venture. We are unable to procure the truth through General Otis. Mr. Collins, of the Associated Press, says the censor told him he was to send nothing and they were going to allow nothing to be sent that would injure the Administration or help Mr. Bryan.

“Here is an agreement by which we are to maintain not only slavery, but polygamy in the Sulu Islands. Here is an agreement by which our flag is made to float over two crimes; and we further solemnly agree that no nation in the world shall be permitted to interfere. It is the chief part of the business of the Sultan of Sulu to get into quarrels with the natives of the interior in the island of Mindanao; then to declare that they are in revolt against his authority. Upon this pretext he takes prisoners and sells them into slavery, the planters of Borneo being the purchasers. That has been his business heretofore whenever he needed money. We now propose to maintain that sort of thing under the flag of the United States, and we stipulate, and the stipulation is approved by the President, that no foreign nation shall be permitted to interfere.”

MR. SPOONER: “Does the Senator wish to be understood as asserting that the President approved article 10 of this agreement, which refers to slavery in the archipelago of Sulu?”

MR. PETTIGREW: “I do.”

MR. SPOONER: “Well, the President says in his message—and if the Senator will permit me I will read it—

“I have confirmed said agreement, subject to the action of the Congress, and with the reservation, which I have directed shall be

communicated to the Sultan of Jolo, that this agreement is not to be deemed in any way to authorize or give the consent of the United States to the existence of slavery in the Sulu Archipelago. I communicate these facts to the Congress for its information and action.”

BY MR. PETTIGREW: “The President approves of an agreement which provides that the slave may purchase his liberty at the usual market price, and according to the first paragraph of the agreement it goes in full force upon the approval of the President and cannot after that be altered except by another agreement. This transaction is on a par with all the other inconsistencies attached to this miserable business. He then says that he wants the Sultan to understand that he does not authorize slavery; though he has approved the agreement which ratifies slavery. How could he transmit the agreement to us with his approval and then send back word to the Sultan that he did not wish to be understood as approving slavery? Who knows whether or not the word will ever get to the Sultan?

“Almost everything we receive here in regard to this matter is on a par with the transmittal to the Associated Press of a copy of the Sulu agreement in Sulu Arabic to conceal the infamy until after the elections were over last fall. It is on a par with the statement of the commisisoners who made this agreement, which I shall proceed to read. Mr. Schurman in an interview says:

“‘It seems to me that were it not for the ignorance displayed the present hue and cry about polygamy and slavery in these islands would be absolutely criminal.’

“If it were not for the ignorance displayed, the present hue and cry about polygamy and slavery would be absolutely criminal I suppose the hue and cry

about slavery before our civil war was criminal. Many people so asserted, many people honestly so believed, and I presume that Mr. Schurman honestly believes that the hue and cry about polygamy and slavery again existing under the flag of the United States would be criminal but for the ignorance of the people who cause it.

"In taking over the Sulu group we have acquired no rights of any sort there except those bequeathed us by Spain.

"And yet the President, time and again during last fall in his speeches everywhere made to the people, asserted that the flag meant the same thing everywhere, meant the same here, in the Sulu group, and in Hawaii; that it meant in every place the same, and that its presence conferred liberty and happiness upon the people under it.

"She was bound by her agreement with the Sultan not to interfere with the religion or customs of the islands, and it would be most unwise for us to attempt this by force when it can be ultimately accomplished by the slower method of civilization and education.

"Mr. President, we tried the slower method of disposing of slavery and polygamy in the United States, also the slower method of civilization, but finally we resorted to war—the greatest war in modern times—and thereby succeeded in destroying slavery under our flag. It has been restored by the act of a President elected by the Republican party. How will it strike the veterans of that war to annex slavery after all these sacrifices and then propose to abolish it when the slaveholders conclude it is wrong and give their consent?"

"The Sulu group proper contains about 100,000 inhabitants. They are all Mohammedans. To attempt to interfere with the religion of these people would precipitate one of the bloodiest wars in which this country has ever been engaged. They are religious fanatics of the most pronounced type, who care nothing

for death and believe that the road to heaven can be attained by killing Christians. Polygamy is a part of their religion, and slavery, about which so much is being said just now, is a mild type of feudal homage. The Sultan believes from what he has seen of Americans that they are ready to be friendly and deal honestly by him.

“Mr. President, I will show what kind of feudal homage this slavery in the Philippines is. Owing to the fact that those people will fight, we prefer to enforce slavery and polygamy, and we attack the Christians in the island of Luzon and compel them to surrender—what? Surrender their desire for a government of their own. We prefer to turn from polygamy and slavery and endorse them, put our flag over them, and declare that nobody shall interfere with them, and then turn our armies and our navies to the destruction of the independence and freedom of a Christian population, which we also purchased from Spain.

“I will read from the second edition of Mr. Foreman’s book, which was published in 1899, and brought up to date. He says:

“The Sultanate is hereditary under the Salic law. The Sultan is supported by three ministers, one of whom acts as regent in his absence (for he might have to go to Mecca, if he had not previously done so), the other is minister of war, and the third is minister of justice and master of the ceremonies.

“Slavery exists in a most ample sense. There are slaves by birth and others by conquest, such as prisoners of war, insolvent debtors, and those seized by piratical expeditions to other islands. A creole friend of mine, Don A. M. was one of these last. He had commenced clearing an estate for cane growing on the Negros coast some years ago, when he was seized and carried off to Sulu

Island. In a few years he was ransomed and returned to Negros, where he formed one of the finest sugar haciendas and factories in the colony.'

"I now read from Social History of the Races of Mankind, by Featherman:

" 'Slavery exists on Sulu Island, and the slaves, who were formerly brought from the Philippines, are not well treated, for their masters exercise the power of life and death over them, and sometimes kill them for trifling offenses. The datos frequently punish a disobedient or fugitive slave by drawing their campilan or kris and cutting off his head at one strike without process of law.'

"And this is the mild form of feudal homage Schurman would have us believe should enjoy the protection of our flag until we can persuade the slaveholders that it is wrong.

"Why did Schurman make this statement? The reason is plain. He did it just before the elections; about the time the State Department gave out the Sulu copy of the treaty for the information of the people of the United States. I contend that after this statement, made at the time it was made by Mr. Schurman with an evident purpose to deceive, he has forfeited all right to be believed by anybody hereafter, and that his statements on all subjects in relation to the Philippines are not worthy of credence.

"I read also from St. John's Far East, volume 2, page 192, as follows:

" 'The slaves are collected from all parts of the archipelago, from Acheen Head in New Guinea, and from the south of Siam to the most northern parts of the Philippines. It is a regular slave market.'

"Then he describes the people. Not only have the slaveholders the right of life and death over their

slaves, but the monarch himself has complete and full right to take the life of any of his subjects whenever he chooses. There is no restraint upon him."

I was intimately acquainted with Roosevelt for a great many years, having met him first at Bismarck, in 1884 and 1885.

About 1909 I was the guest of Robert Hunter at a dinner at the Alden Club in New York City. At this dinner, Arthur Brisbane, Morris Hilquit, Professor Giddings, of Columbia University, and others were present. After discussing many questions with these radicals and socialists—questions that covered a wide range of socialism, imperialism and social and economic justice—Professor Giddings turned to me abruptly and asked, "What do you think of Roosevelt?" I replied that I had known him intimately for years and that when I was with him he made me believe that he was sincere and honest in his expression of his views as to what should be done and what he wanted to do, but that when I was away from his presence he did or said something that made me doubt. Thereupon Professor Giddings replied that he had known Roosevelt from boyhood and watched him from every position and that when he was with him and talked with him face to face he always came away convinced that Roosevelt was the greatest faker in the world, but that when he was not present with him, Roosevelt did or said something that made him doubt.

We continued to talk about Roosevelt and I finally told the company that I had just been to Washington at Roosevelt's request, he having written me that he was very anxious to see me. On arriving in Washington I went to the White House and called upon Roosevelt, and as I came in he rushed across the room, extending both hands, and said at once that he wanted me to secure Democratic votes enough to pass the Hepburn Railroad Bill through

the Senate. He said that Aldrich was opposing it and trying to amend it so that it would amount to nothing.

I immediately replied that I was not in favor of the Hepburn Bill in any form, that the only remedy was the Government ownership of the railroads—that the railroads were the highways of the nation, and should be operated for the benefit of the whole people of the United States and not for private profit. Roosevelt immediately said: "I have the bill here at the White House which you introduced for the Government ownership of the railroads; also the argument you made in support of the same." And he went and brought out both the argument and the bill. Then he said: "We cannot pass a bill for Government ownership at the present time and I am therefore very anxious to try regulating the railroads."

I replied that regulation was entirely futile and useless for the reason that, if the power to regulate the railroads and to fix the rate were placed in the hands of any commission, the railroads would at once own the commission—that a railroad man, J. Lowery Bell, who was receiving \$12,000 a year as superintendent of a railroad, was the second assistant Postmaster General at \$4,000 a year, in charge of the Railway Mail Service of the Postoffice Department during the whole twelve years that I was in the Senate, and therefore it was perfectly idle to try to regulate the railroads and their rates through any commission, no matter who selected it, for it would ultimately be selected by the railroads themselves.

I said, "Do you know the Hepburn Bill cuts off broad court review and only allows the courts to review as to the law but not as to the facts? The Hepburn Bill also empowers the Interstate Commerce Commission to make rates; in fact, to initiate

rates." And I added, "Do you want these two things? Are they what you desire?"

Roosevelt jumped up and said, "Yes, that is just what I want."

"Well," I said, "if you will stand for that I will see what can be done."

The next day I took two senators to the White House—two Democrats—and told Roosevelt that these two men would assist him in getting others, and that they could furnish votes enough to put the bill through in spite of Mr. Aldrich. But I added—"Roosevelt, you are so partisan a Republican that I feel that we run great risk in dealing with you at all, because you are liable, after you see you can pass the bill, to make a deal with Aldrich and abandon your democratic allies in the interests of party harmony." He thereupon pounded the table and declared he would never surrender, but would stand to the end.

When I had finished this statement, Professor Giddings remarked that he knew Roosevelt far better than I did, and that Roosevelt would sell me out together with the democratic senators and make a deal with Aldrich, and pass the bill in the form which would be satisfactory to the railroads. That is exactly what Roosevelt did.

This episode convinced me of what I had before suspected—that Roosevelt never stood for anything that was against the settled interests of those who were exploiting the American people.

After Taft had been nominated, in 1912, Roosevelt asked me to come to his home at Oyster Bay on Long Island, as he wished to talk with me about the political situation. Accordingly I went to Oyster Bay and spent the day with him.

When I went into the library at Oyster Bay, Roosevelt rushed across the room, put out both hands and said: "Pettigrew, you were right about Taft. Are you going to support me?"

"I said, "Why, Roosevelt, I didn't know you were running for anything."

He said: "I am going to run as an independent candidate for President."

I said, "Well, I don't think I will support you; there is no sense in your running—all you can accomplish is to elect Woodrow Wilson, and that will be a national disaster."

He said: "Oh, well, we might as well suffer four years under Wilson as four years more under Taft."

I said, "No, there is a great difference. Taft is amiable imbecility. Wilson is wilful and malicious imbecility and I prefer Taft."

Roosevelt then said: "Pettigrew, you know the two old parties are just alike. They are both controlled by the same influences, and I am going to organize a new party—a new political party—in this country based upon progressive principles. We won't win this year, but four years from now we will elect the President, and you are going to support me."

I said, "Roosevelt, if you mean that you will stand for a new party—I recognize the great necessity of it—the two old parties are absolutely dominated by the predatory interests, and if your platform suits me I will certainly support you."

Roosevelt then said, "What do you want in that platform?" And I began to tell him that I wanted government ownership of the railroads; I wanted a reformation of the financial system by which money would be issued by the Government and the Government alone, and many other radical things. In fact, Roosevelt and I sat down that afternoon and drew the platform. When we had finished, Roosevelt said:

"Now are you going to support me?"

And I said: "If your convention adopts that platform I will support you, and when the convention afterward adopted the platform I wrote Roosevelt I

would give him my hearty support; and I did, and I carried South Dakota for him in the election.

I told him that I considered the issue and the control of money of great and vital importance, and we finally agreed on the plank that appeared in his platform, i.e., that the issue of money should not be subject to private manipulation, but should be controlled absolutely by the Government in the interests of the people.

We then talked about the labor planks as related to men, women and children.

After the convention had adopted a platform and nominated Roosevelt as a Progressive, I received a letter from him asking me if I intended to support him and if the platform was satisfactory. I answered briefly that I would support him because of his statement to me that he would organize a permanent party in the interests of social and economic justice, and because of the progressive principles that he had placed in his platform.

I am now convinced that he never had any real intention of organizing a permanent progressive party. As an egoist his chief interest centered around his own personality; the nomination of Taft was so sharp a blow to his self-love that there was nothing for him to do except to throw himself into the limelight in another direction.' His over-regard for himself, which had grown so rapidly during his later years, tended to make him, par excellence, the monumental faker of the world. In playing this role, he was simply following out the line of conduct established during his early years in public life.

When the battleship MAINE was blown up in Havana Harbor, just previous to the war with Spain, Col. Melvin Grigsby was at Fort Pierre, S. D. Fort Pierre is on the west side of the Missouri River and in the very heart of the greatest cattle range in America. Here it was that Catlin met the Sioux

chiefs and thousands of Indians in 1832. In this country were the greatest buffalo pastures in the world.

Col. Grigsby was a veteran of the Civil War, having seen four years of service—a man of great courage and superior intelligence. And from Fort Pierre he telegraphed President McKinley that the sinking of the MAINE meant war, and that the best soldiers that could be secured on short notice for the war with Spain were the cowboys of the plains. He offered his service in this connection. Shortly afterward, Col. Grigsby came to Washington and secured an amendment to the bill, which had already passed the House, authorizing the raising of volunteers for the Spanish War, which provided that 3,000 men of special fitness might be recruited independently, the officers to be appointed by the President.

At this time, Theodore Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Leonard Wood was a contract surgeon in the army of the United States, located at Washington and detailed to attend to Mrs. McKinley. He applied to be appointed one of the colonels of one of the Rough Rider regiments of cowboys, and Theodore Roosevelt applied to be appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the same regiment. These two doughty soldiers, with no experience except Mr. Roosevelt's experience as a cowboy one season on the little Missouri River, and Wood's experience as a contract surgeon, received their respective appointments. They raised a regiment of so-called cowboys in the eastern states and went to Florida.

From Florida they embarked for Cuba, leaving their horses behind. They landed east of Santiago and started through the jungle for San Juan Hill, General Wood being colonel of the regiment and Mr. Roosevelt acting as lieutenant colonel.

About ten miles from San Juan Hill, they were ambushed by the Spaniards and some of the Rough

Riders were wounded in what was called the El Caney fight. They would have been cut to pieces, but General _____, in command of some regiments of Negro troops, rushed in these colored regulars and rescued Wood and his doughty lieutenant-colonel from the hands of the Spaniards.

The Rough Riders—all on foot, for they had left their horses back in Florida—then proceeded to a field near the foot of Kettle Hill, which blanketed San Juan Hill, and remained there until General _____ and his colored troops took San Juan Hill from the Spaniards.

After San Juan Hill had been captured, Col. Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt charged up Kettle Hill, where there was nothing but an old kettle which had been used for evaporating sugar cane juice. There were no fortifications or trenches or block-houses, or Spaniards, dead or alive, on Kettle Hill. Yet Roosevelt, in his book "History of the Spanish War," says that he charged up San Juan Hill and found the trenches full of dead Spaniards with little holes in their foreheads, and that two Spaniards jumped up and ran away, and that he missed one of them but killed the other with a shot in the back from his revolver.

I refer to the records of the War Department, which show that Roosevelt had nothing to do with the taking of San Juan Hill. I refer also to a pamphlet by Colonel Bacon, of Brooklyn, in which he says that he secured affidavits of one hundred soldiers and officers who were in the campaign to take Santiago, and that all of them testified that Roosevelt was not in the battle of San Juan Hill, or, in fact, in any other battle except the ambush at El Caney.

Afterwards, when Roosevelt became President of the United States, he posed on horseback at Fort Meyer, and had his picture painted by a famous German artist, charging up San Juan Hill.

After the Spanish War was over, Mr. Roosevelt located in the city of Washington, and, having inherited a fortune, the tax assessor of New York placed him on the tax list for a large sum as resident of New York State. Mr. Roosevelt thereupon swore off his taxes, swearing that he was not a resident of the State of New York, but of the city of Washington, and, not being a citizen of New York, was not liable to taxes under the laws of that state.

Shortly after taking this oath, Boss Platt called upon Mr. Roosevelt and proposed that he should be a candidate for Governor of New York. Roosevelt promptly replied that he could not run for Governor as he was not a citizen of New York, and related the incident of his swearing off his taxes. Platt thereupon remarked: "Is the hero of San Juan Hill going to show the white feather?"

Mr. Roosevelt answered, in his dramatic and eloquent way, that he was no coward, and would be a candidate.

After election, when he came to take the oath of office as Governor of New York, he had to swear that he was a citizen of the State of New York. But sufficient time had not elapsed for him to acquire citizenship since he had sworn that he was not a citizen of the state. The difficulty was overcome by Elihu Root's statement that domicile in Washington for the purpose of escaping taxes in the State of New York was not a sufficient loss of citizenship to disqualify Roosevelt for governor. Root was afterwards much pampered and petted by Roosevelt when he became President of the United States.

Having by accident become President, Roosevelt served out McKinley's term and was then nominated and elected. At the end of four years more, having named Taft as his successor, Roosevelt concluded to emulate the exploits of the Romans and add Africanus to his name. Scipio had conquered provinces

in Africa and led their kings and princes and potentates in triumph. Roosevelt's triumph was graced with elephants' feet and leopards' tails, and, on his way back to his own country to enjoy his triumph, he stopped in Paris long enough to address the great literary and scientific society founded by Voltaire, whose president was Pasteur, the discoverer of many scientific marvels. And to this body of students of science and biology and literature Teddy delivered his oration of thirty minutes in length, advising them to raise babies!

And this was not the end of his achievements. He examined the map of South America and found a strip of country marked upon all the geographies as unknown or unexplored—a little west of and south of the mouth of the Madeira River. He went in by way of Paraguay, and striking this unknown region at its southern extremity passed down through the tropical jungle of this country to the mouth, and announced to the world that he had discovered a new river of great importance—a new and unknown river, thus adding to his exploits as a conqueror in Africa the proud name of discoverer. But, after he had announced to the world his great discovery, it was found that at the mouth of this river there was a small Spanish town which had existed for two centuries and that for over a hundred and fifty years the river had been navigated to the first falls by the Spanish gatherers of rubber.

Roosevelt was a dramatic artist first and a president afterwards. All of his actions were strongly colored by his love for effect. He posed. That was his life. Of his successor, Taft, nothing need be added to the characterization—"an amiable man weighing 250 pounds."

Woodrow Wilson was not a Democrat after 1896. In that year he left the party for the same reason that I joined it. He came back and voted for Parker

in 1904, and for the same reason that led me not to vote for Parker. Wilson did not support Bryan in 1908. At no time was he an advocate of the principles of progressive democracy.

I first met Woodrow Wilson the year before he was nominated. It was in August, 1911, that I received a letter from him saying that he would like to see me. He was residing at the Governor's summer home on the Atlantic coast of New Jersey, about eighty miles from New York. A friend of mine—I think it was ex-Senator Towne, had been down to see him and had told Wilson that I was in New York. Wilson thereupon wrote me that he was very anxious to meet me, and that, if I could not come down to his home, he would come to New York. So I went down to see him.

I went early and remained all day, and we talked on very many subjects. He told me that he was an active candidate for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States and, thereupon, I began discussing public questions with him, for I was prejudiced against him because of his attitude in the Bryan campaigns.

Late in the afternoon of my visit, Wilson asked me if I would support him for the Democratic nomination and take charge of his campaign in the West. I said that I did not know; that I had come down there prejudiced against him; but that he had said things during the day that interested me very much, and that if he would send me all of his recent speeches and every one of his veto messages, so I could study his attitude of mind upon public questions, in about a month I could tell him whether I could support him or not.

In our conversation I had discovered that Wilson knew nothing about the practical working of the Government. He had boasted that he was educated and trained as a lawyer and had practiced in his native

state, Alabama, and this did not leave a good impression upon my mind, because any man well learned in the law has come honestly to believe that the rights of property and not human rights are sacred and is, therefore, unfitted to serve the interests of the people. But Wilson had declared for the public ownership of public resources—that is, iron and oil, and had suggested the single tax as a method of taking the raw material from the trusts and combinations, such as the iron, oil, etc.

I left the Governor's house after dinner, and as I reached the door Tumulty—he was then the Governor's secretary—was at the door with an automobile and said that the Governor wished him to talk with me and that, if I would permit him, he would take me back to New York. I therefore got into the automobile, and he took me back to Newark. We discussed the same questions I discussed with the Governor, and he said that the Governor wanted my support, and wished me to take charge of his campaign in the West.

About the time the thirty days had expired, I received a letter from Tumulty saying that the Governor was anxious to know what my decision was, and I promptly replied that I had read all of the Governor's recent speeches and his veto messages, and most of his works, and after carefully considering the same I was of the opinion that he was the worst Tory in the United States and that he used camouflage to conceal his settled opinion, and that I would not support him for the office of President even if no one else was a candidate.

I had many reasons for taking this stand. For example, in a speech which was carefully prepared and delivered before the Society of Virginians in New York City in 1904, he had made the following statement:

“The real opportunity of the South is of another sort. It had now a unique opportunity to perform a great national service. As the only remaining part of the Democratic party that can command a majority of its votes in its constituency, let the South demand a

rehabilitation of the Democratic party on the only lines that restore it to dignity and power.

"Since 1896 the Democratic party had permitted its name to be used by men who ought never to have been admitted to its councils—men who held principles and professed purposes which it had always hitherto repudiated.

"There is no longer any Democratic party either in the South or in any northern state which the discredited radicals can use. The great body of one-time Democrats that musters strong enough to win elections had revolted and will act with no organization that harbors the radicals—as the radicals did not in fact act with the organization they themselves had discredited in the recent campaign when the whole country felt that the Democratic party was still without definite character and makeup.

"The country, as it moves forward in its material progress, needs and will tolerate no party of discontent or radical experiment, but it does need a party of conservative reform, acting in the spirit of the law and ancient institutions."

I wish to call especial attention to the fact that Wilson wished to throw the Populists and Silver Republicans and radicals out of the party; and to this paragraph:

"The country, as it moves forward to its progress, needs and will tolerate no party of discontent or radical experiment, but it does need a party of conservative reform, acting in the spirit of the law and ancient institutions."

This is Woodrow Wilson's whole political creed.

His position with regard to labor is well expressed in his baccalaureate address of June 13, 1909:

"You know what the usual standard of the employe is in our day. It is to give as little as he may for his wages. In some trades and handicrafts no one is suffered to do more than the least skilful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day's labor. It is so

unprofitable that in some trades it will presently not be worth while to attempt at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an invariable loss. The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under its present regulation by those who have determined to reduce it to a minimum. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants."

And he was reported in the New York "World" as saying:

"We speak too exclusively of the capitalist class. There is another as formidable an enemy to equality and freedom of opportunity as it is, and that is the class formed by the labor organization and leaders of the country, the class representing only a small minority of the laboring men of the country, quite as monopolistic in spirit as the capitalist, and quite as apt to corrupt and ruin our industries by their monopoly."

One of the veto messages which he sent me revealed the true Wilson point of view. He wrote a long message in vetoing the bill to eliminate grade crossings on the railroads of New Jersey. The bill by the New Jersey legislature had provided that every railroad in the state should eliminate one grade crossing for each thirty miles of track each year until they were all eliminated. Wilson vetoed this bill on the ground that it would be a hardship for the railroads to comply with the provisions. In the state of New Jersey at that time the railroads ran through the main streets of the principal towns—right on the surface—and large numbers of people were killed and injured at grade crossings. The bill was a mild and "evolutionary" method of eliminating the crossings—it permitted the killings to continue for many years before the last grade of crossing was eliminated. Even that mild provision proved to be too strong for Wilson who, true to his lawyer training, and his attitude of mind where the question of property rights was involved, vetoed the bill because it involved a hardship on the shareholders.

These and many other facts which I had discovered in my study of his writings and his speeches led me to write, early in the campaign of 1912:

"If Mr. Wilson becomes President he will oppose any legislation that interferes with big property or in any way curtails its profits. He has behind him an ancestry of slave-holders and he has no sympathy with labor. He thinks the Chinese are much better than the European immigrants that come crowding in from Europe.

"He is bitterly and sneeringly opposed to every man who toils and to every progressive principle; he knows little or nothing about the purposes of socialism, does not comprehend the great revolution going on in the minds of men which must shake to the very foundation our social and economic structure. His effort will be to check, to turn aside and to neutralize this movement, and he will do it all in the interests of the capitalistic classes.

"He will undertake some reforms. He will rail about the bosses; he will talk about purity, but he is absolutely owned by the great moneyed interests of the country who paid the expenses of his campaign for the nomination and will now furnish the funds for the election. No progressive Democrat should vote for him under any circumstances."

Wilson was nominated by the usual influences that control a Democratic convention. He had almost a solid South at his back. The South is behind the world in ordinary civilization, in social and economic thought. This mass of ignorance and barbarism joined with the corrupt exploiting bosses of the North and brought about Woodrow Wilson's nomination. Murphy, the exploiter of vice in New York; Sullivan, the exploiter of the people of Chicago, through the gas franchise; Ryan, the exploiter of the street railway franchise of New York, and Taggart, who for years ran a gambling house at French Lick, Indiana, and Bryan, of Ne-

braska, were all actively at work to bring about Woodrow Wilson's nomination.

Wilson, as President, more than fulfilled the promise of Wilson as Governor. His first public surrender to the interests came in the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. His real abdication accompanied his declaration of war with Germany.

On the 26th of February, 1917, President Wilson, in an address to Congress, said:

"I am not now proposing or contemplating war, or any steps that may lead to it."

The President made this declaration eleven days after the Advisory Council of Big Business, appointed by him, had in its secret sessions, as now disclosed by an examination of the records of the meetings, discussed the exclusion of labor from military service, and discussed the draft law months before it had been intimated to Congress or the country that we were to raise an army by draft to fight a foreign war.

William J. Graham, of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington on Expenditures in the War Department, examined the minutes of the meetings of the Council of Defense. He made copious extracts from these minutes. Based upon that investigation, Chairman Graham reported to the full committee as follows:

"An examination of these minutes discloses the fact that a commission of seven men chosen by the President seems to have devised the entire system of purchasing war supplies, planned a press censorship, designed a system of food control, and selected Herbert Hoover as its director, determined on a daylight saving scheme and, in a word, designed practically every war measure which Congress subsequently enacted—and did all this, behind closed doors, weeks and even months before the Congress of the United States declared war against Germany."

For months before the United States declared war, Wilson was planning war with a secret committee of

New York representatives of Big Business that he, Wilson, had appointed for that purpose.

W. P. G. Harding, president of the Federal Reserve Board, gives the reason why the United States went to war in a statement published on March 22, 1917:

"As banker and creditor, the United States would have a place at the peace conference table, and be in a much better position to resist any proposed repudiation of debts, for it might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated."

Harding, as a representative of the New York bankers, knew what the secret committee was doing with the President at its head. He could, with perfect confidence say, weeks before the United States went into the war, "It might as well be remembered that we will be forced to take up the cudgels for any of our citizens owning bonds that might be repudiated."

Wilson went to Paris as the representative of the New York banks. That he was their representative and consulted with them all through the conference is proven by the fact that Thomas W. Lamont (of J. P. Morgan & Co.) was chief financial adviser in Paris, and that the New York banks had a copy of the treaty weeks before the United States Senate received its copy.

It is not an inspiring record—this story of ten presidents—all of them actively or passively serving the interests that have been plundering the American people. Very few Americans now living have known ten presidents. Very few have had my opportunity for observation. If they had, I think they would be compelled to agree with me that the control of the American plutocracy is exercised as directly and as effectively over and through the Presidents of the United States as over any other department of American Government.